1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6



273 has to take part if he wishes to keep on good terms with the Indians. — »Among the Ashluslay I have taken a hand in several large-scale drinking carousals, and among the Choroti in some smaller ones. It proved an interesting experience, but it required a great deal of fortitude to be able to go through with it. In most villages there is a special [361] place set apart for drinking. There the men begin to foregather about noon, each man bringing his sitting mat and his calabash bowl of a capacity of two to three litres. Huge calabashes of beer are brought by the women. Sometimes the beer is decanted into a large earthenware vessel, out of which it is served. At a festivity where old man Aslù was the host, algaroba beer was handed round to the guests in a genuine European night-chamber, of well-known shape. What lees or dregs there may be in the beer receptacle, the partakers simply fish out with their hands, and then strain between their filthy fingers.

[276] [574] [576]

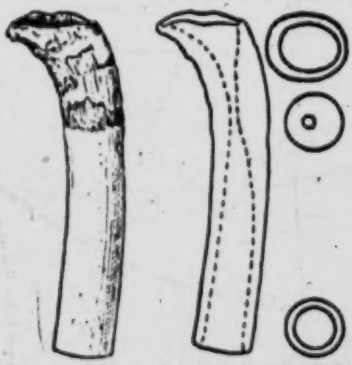

Fig. 153. Tobacco pipe of bamboo. The figure shows the mouthpiece turned downwards. Choroti, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. 1/6. Riksm. 03. 3. 228.

»A guest, especially if he has the misfortune of being very popular, is very well treated. He is provided with a sitting mat and a calabash holding two or three litres. When he sits down, all wave to him with the flat of the hand, and he must make a similar response. That constitutes the greeting of welcome. After that, it is a matter of drinking, for here the motto is 'no heeltaps', and one must not be uncivil. When one has managed to get a litre down, without throwing it some more the palm-waving is done. The old men sitting next to one, draw their more or less dirty fingers across one's mouth. This is the height of friendliness. If, after all this, one has to run away for a moment, one must by no means forget to wave the hand to one's neighbours and say 'paa', for if not, one is exceedingly unmannerly. The worst of it is that one must come back, and hold out, right through the feast even, whilst one's hosts are drunk and yelling, making speeches, spitting in the festive bowl, and generally feeling themselves good and hearty. Without giving a wipe to the pipe-stem, one has [276] to smoke, turn and turn about, with dirty, slavering, old men.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6



»When the old men have felt themselves properly tuned up, then they have painted my face black with soot and spittle. They have wanted to pull out my eyebrows and eyelashes, and they have laughed my long and ugly beard to scorn, and they have wanted to bore through my ears.

»All during these drinking carousals, when everybody was drunk, I have never heard a hard word spoken; never noticed the slightest quarrel arising. When the Indian is full of his home-brewed beer, he is not pleasant, but he does not get insolent; he belongs to the type of drunkard who wants to embrace everybody, and in whom the manifestations of friendliness become unpleasantly exaggerated. He gets blatantly valiant, and shouts about warlike deeds. He discusses plans of campaigns, but has forgotten all about it when he is sober again. He sings and he is happy.»[1]

The Choroti Indians are inveterate smokers. As the tobacco which these Indians grow and prepare is of a very inferior quality, they are keen on bartering tobacco off the whites. Frequently the Choroti mix their tobacco with shavings of an aromatic tree bark.[2]

Tobacco pipes consist of pieces of bamboo, fig. 153, or wood, figs. 154—161. The latter are straight, that is to say, the longitudinal axis of the tobacco retainer is in a straight line with the longitudinal axis of the stem.[3] The pipes of bamboo are straight, or of a slightly curving bend, fig. 153. Choroti pipes are as a rule made in one piece, figs. 153—161, but composite pipes (pipes with the stem fitted into the bowl) do occur, although they are exceedingly rare.[4]

The pipes have in the forward end, as a rule, a funnel-shaped depression in which the tobacco is stuffed (the tobacco retainer). From the bottom of the funnel the smoke passes through a channel, the diameter of which is only a couple of millimetres in the part nearest the tobacco retainer but usually widens towards the opening of the mouthpiece (see sections, figs. 153—161). In pipes with a wide mouthpiece opening, the latter as a rule is provided with a vegetable fibre filter, which cleanses

[1] Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 89, 91 and 93.

[2] As to Indian conceptions of intoxicating beverages, tobacco and other narcotics, see for example Karsten (8), pp. 28—72.

[3] The Ashluslay, neighbours of the Choroti, possess both straight and angle-bent pipes. In the Ashluslay pipes of the latter kind the longitudinal axis of the tobacco retainer and that of the stem form an angle of about 90 degrees. Nordenskiöld (13), figs. 41—43.

[4] A composite pipe from the Choroti is reproduced and described by Nordenskiöld (21), fig. 8.

276 the smoke of tobacco oil. Wooden pipes are often decorated with burnt-in
[531] ornament (figs. 155—157 and 159—161), or, once in a while, with carved ornamentation (fig. 161), or mountings of tin.

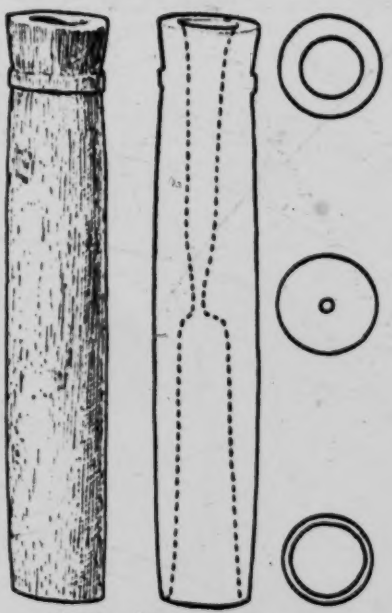

Fig. 154. Yellow wood. 03. 3. 219.

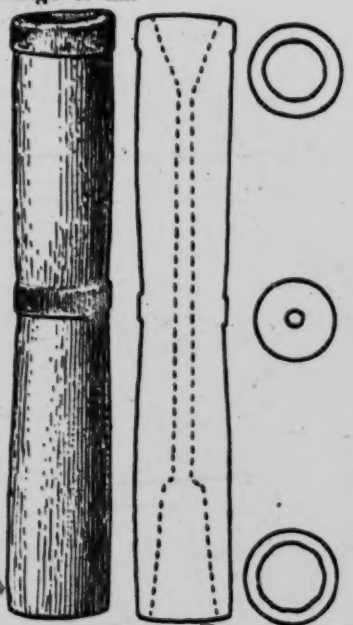

Fig. 155. Yellow wood; the rings carved in relief are coloured dark by burning. 03. 3. 224.

Tobacco pipes of wood. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm.

The straight type of pipe much resembles our modern cigar holders, but is nevertheless an ancient American cultural element. Straight tobacco pipes are found in widely separated parts of the New World, and in archæological excavations in North America, pipes of this kind have been found of burnt clay, among other materials, which probably are pre-Columbian.[1]

276 517 The Choroti Indians never smoke whilst working, or otherwise moving about, but keep this form of indulgence for their sociable talks, their meetings, or drinking bouts. No Choroti, when in company with others,

[1] E. g. Holmes (1), pl. CLVI. For the distribution of the straight tobacco pipe in North and South America, see, for example, McGuire (1), and Nordenskiöld (21).

[text continues on p. 140]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6



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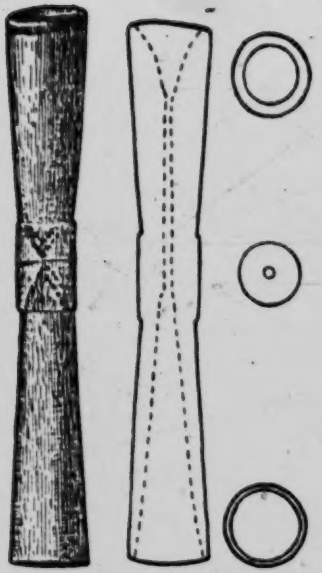

Fig. 156. Reddish-brown wood. Ornament burned in. 10. 3. 143.

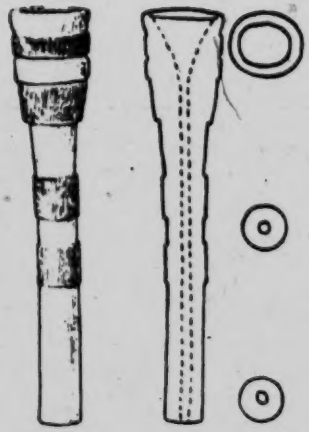

Fig. 157. Yellow wood. Four bands carved in relief, burned dark brown. 03. 3. 226.

Fig. 158. Yellow wood. 03. 3. 229.

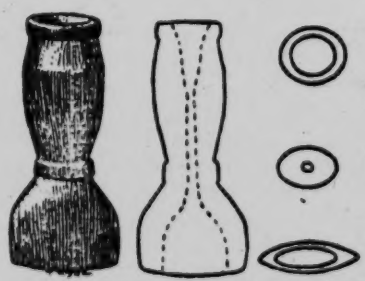

Fig. 159. Reddish-brown wood; the relief carved rings are darkened by burning. 03. 3. 230.

Wooden tobacco pipes. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm.

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6



276 smokes his pipe alone, but lets it pass, by turns, from mouth to
517 mouth. Similarly to other primitive peoples, the Choroti not only take the smoke into their mouths, but also inhale it into their lungs, a method of smoking which apparently gives them great satisfaction.

534 The Choroti are only indifferently gifted for music, and their musical instruments are exceedingly primitive. These consist of flutes and whistles of bone, whistles made from skulls, disc-shaped whistles made of

[276
531]

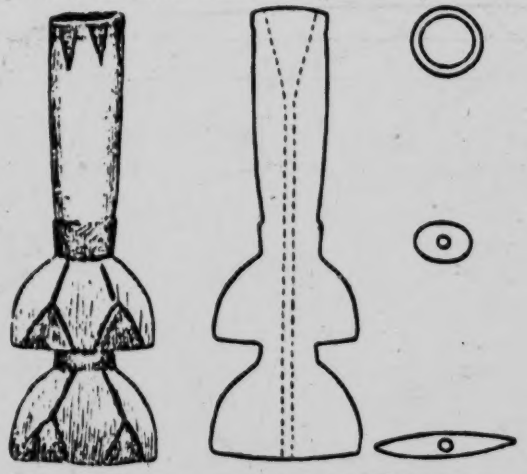

Fig. 160. Yellow wood. Ornament burned in. Riksm. 03. 3. 231.

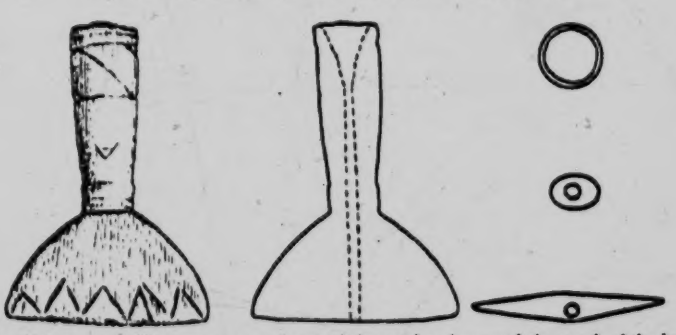

Fig. 161. Yellow wood. The ornament on the mouthpiece and a ring round the mouth of the bowl are burned in. The mark resembling an inverted letter A is carved. The lower ring on the bowl, and the lines that are obliquely issuing from it, are carved and painted red. 03. 3. 232.

Tobacco pipes of wood. Choroti. Gran Chaco. Bolivia. 2/3. Riksm.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
Choroti SK 6



of a ford. Those Chaco Indians who live beside the river, clever swimmers as they are, possess great experience and dexterity in performing such tasks and in fact, no white traveller in the Chaco could easily do without their services. At the fordable place where we crossed to the other side the water was so low that men and animals had to swim only a short distance, our clothes being taken over in a big cow's hide folded up so as to form a sort of vessel. Within half an hour we were all safely on the other side of the river and could continue our journey.

The Bolivian sub-tribes of the great Toba nation inhabit the region between fort d'Orbigny in the south and the village Villa Montes (Mission of San Francisco), situated about twenty leagues to the north, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo. I proposed to visit these Indians later on. For the present my destination was the country of the Choroti which lies about midway between the fort d'Orbigny and the next Bolivian military station on the Pilcomayo, Guachalla. To reach the first Choroti village I had to travel about eight leagues along the narrow path which — in the main following the river but at times retiring far from it — runs from d'Orbigny in a southerly direction. This path is in some places almost obliterated, especially when it leads through the plains, and for the traveller there is the frequent risk of losing it, in which case he may easily go astray in the wilds.

It was in the beginning of December that I first made the acquaintance of the Choroti in their own land. These Indians are now what the Bolivians call *indios mansos* (tame Indians) and there is no danger for a white man in visiting them. The few white settlers on the Pilcomayo have very seldom had any trouble with the Choroti, who — in contrast to the arrogant Tobas — are a peaceful people. A *kilai* (the name given every white man) is therefore kindly received if he himself treats the Indians well and does not arrive empty-handed. So it was with Nordenskiöld during his stay among the Choroti, and so it was with me. It is not possible to live among the Chaco Indians without bringing articles of exchange, and for my own part I had a good supply of such things. Among these were not only shirts, needles, thread, small mirrors, glass beads etc., but above all tobacco which is the article most appreciated by these Indians. Tobacco in fact is a sort of tribute which everybody must pay who travels in the Chaco and has to deal with the natives. Every male member of the small community whose guest I was had to receive his share — of course only a small quantity, just enough to fill the pipe a couple of times — and the gift had to be repeated every day. The Choroti

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6



574 only smoke for pleasure, and I doubt whether they ever used the tobacco
276 ceremonially as is the rule among the Indians of tropical South America.
[177] The custom is evidently of comparatively recent origin and has been introduced by the whites.

101 *Choroti* is a Guarani name given to our Indians by the Avas (Chiriguano) and now recognized by themselves. Their proper tribal name, however, is *Jóhuaha* [1]), a word the etymology of which is obscure but which seems to be equivalent to »our own people». Among themselves the Choroti never use any other name than Jóhuaha.

114 In the history of the Gran Chaco, a small and peaceful tribe like the *Choroti* can have played only an insignificant rôle, and the earliest European explorers seem not to have known them. The first author who mentions them is Father Lozano, S. J., who in his book of 1733 calls them Xolotas. But he tells us absolutely nothing about them, and the same may be said of several later travellers who occasionally mention them. The Swedish traveller von Rosen, who made a short visit among the Choroti in 1902, has published a small study of these Indians under the title *The Chorotes Indians of the Bolivian Chaco* (Stockholm, 1904). But v. Rosen's paper is based on very superficial observation and contains several errors which make its ethnographic value rather problematic. [2]) This may partly be due to the fact that v. Rosen never visited the Choroti in their own land on the other side of the Pilcomayo river, but only those families of the tribe which have been in the habit of living for certain periods near the village Caiza, situated just north of Yacuiba, at the easternmost cordilleras of the Andes.

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[1]) Nordenskiöld erroneously gives this name as *Yóshuahá* (*Indianerleben*, p. 28) and Hunt equally erroneously as *Yofuaha* (*El Choroti o Yofuaha, Revista del Musco de La Plata*. Bd. 23. Liverpool, 1915). The Indians themselves most clearly pronounce their name *Jóhuaha*, with the accent on the first syllable. The f-sound is lacking in the Choroti language, as in the languages of many other South American Indians.

[2]) Thus, when v. Rosen says that »polygamy only occurs among the rich, and the caciques have quite a number of wives», this sentence alone contains three mistakes. First, the Choroti are strictly monogamous, any form of polygamy being prohibited by their social morality and their women, who are extremely jealous; secondly, there are no »rich» people among the Choroti, all being equally rich or equally poor; and thirdly, although we may speak of caciques or chiefs among them, these have very limited power and do not distinguish themselves from the rest of the tribe in the way v. Rosen's statement seems to indicate. — Evidently v. Rosen has confounded the Choroti chiefs with those of other and more advanced tribes, probably the Avas (Chiriguano) or the Tobas.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5



## XV.

## Means of Indulgence.

A
C
276

*The Tobacco Pipe* (Map 14)

The Indian tribes here dealt with are keen smokers, and cultivate tobacco themselves.

Chewing coca is unknown to them.

In the following table I give a résumé touching the smoking of tobacco and the chewing of coca in the parts of S. America visited by me.

| | No. on the map. | Cultivation of tobacco | Smokers. | Cigarette Smokers. | Pipe Smokers. | Coca chewers. | Tobacco used only as a medicament. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ashluslay | 2 | + | + | | + | — | — |
| Atsahuaca | | ? | ? | ? | | ? | ? |
| Aymara | | | | | | + | — |
| Baure | | + | + | + | — | — | — |
| Cavina | | ? | | ? | — | + | — |
| Ch[illegible]obo | | + | | — | — | — | + |
| Cháma | | ? | — | — | — | — | ? |
| Chané | | + | + | + | — | — | — |
| Chimane | 24 | + | — | — | — | — | + |
| Chiriguano | | + | + | + | + | —[1] | — |
| Choroti | • | + | + | — | + | — | — |
| Churápa | | + | + | + | — | — | — |
| Guarayú (Guarayos) | 40 | + | + | + | + | — | — |

[1] Coca chewing has been introduced of late among a small number.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5



| | No. on the map. | Cultivation of tobacco | Smokers | Cigarette smokers | Pipe smokers | Coca chewers | Tobacco used only as a medicament |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Guarayú (Pauserna) | | + | + | + | — | — | — |
| Huanyam | | + | + | + ? | — | — | — |
| Huari | | + | + | + [1]) | — | — | — |
| Itonama | | + | + | + | — | — | — |
| Mataco | 6 | + | + | — | + | — | — |
| Quichua | | — | — | — | — | + | — |
| Siriono | 51 | — | + ? | — | + [2]) | — | |
| Tambopata-Guarayo | | + | — | — | — | — | ? |
| Tapiete | 3 | + | + | — | + | — | — |
| Toba | 7 | + | + | — | + | — | — |
| Tsirakua | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Yamiaca | | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? | ? |
| Yuracáre | | + | — | + [3]) | — | — | + [3]) |

The Choroti and the Ashluslay smoke pipes, as the table shows. The pipe is also known to the following tribes, besides those given in the résumé: (52) Mocovi[4]), (x 4) Payaguá[4]), (8) Lengua[4]), (11) Chamacoco[4]), (12) Mbayá[4]), (21) Cainguá[4]), (13) Karajú and (50) Savajé[4,8]), (46) Conibo[8]), (10) Araucanians[4]), (26) Tehuelche[4]), (63) Tapuya[8]), (37) Motilon[7]), Arecuna and Patamona[8]).

[1]) Cigars.
[2]) According to CARLÚS, p. 282. »No para fumar, sino para humear.«
[3]) Not great smokers. Tobacco chiefly used as a medicament.
[4]) NORDENSKIÖLD (3 B)
[5]) CHILE (1), Vol. 2, Pl. 27, fig. 12.
[6]) ROUTLOX BARO, p. 238, 241; PISO et MARCGRAV, 274. p.
[7]) HOLINDER (2), p. 37.
[8]) KRAUSE, p. 350.
[9]) G. M. Collection Liljewalch-Thulin. Not marked on the map.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK5
Ashluslay SK5



000 Archaeological excavations have unearthed pipes in (U) Patagonia[1]), in (V), (Z) Chile[2]), at several places in (A), (E) N. Argentine[1]), in (S) Rio Grande do Sul[3]), (m) Parana[1]), (1) San Paulo[1]), (b) Alagoas[1]), (k) Bahia[1]), (x) Surinam[1]), (R) on the L. of Valencia in Venezuela[1]), on the Island (Y) of Koati on the L. of Titicaca[3]) at (W) Tunja[1]) and (T) Antióquia[1]) in Columbia and at (Ä) Caipipendi (Ö) Tarupayu in S. Bolivia and at (H) Buenos-Aires[5]).

As we see, the tobacco pipe has a considerable distribution in S. America, and is probably a very old cultural element there. This holds good especially of the simple tubular pipes in common use among the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

In the west of S. America, in the old culture zone, pipes have been found only in (E), (A) N. Argentina and on (Y) the Island of Koati on the L. of Titicaca. No pipes have been found in the old graves on the coast of Peru. Smoking was probably unusual in Peru, although tobacco was cultivated there. However, it seems to have been used occasionally as snuff. The medicine men employed tobacco to induce ecstasy[4]). It is therefore, as we see, not to be assumed that the Chaco Indians learnt smoking from the cultural tribes of the Andes.

A For *cleaning the pipe* the Ashluslay and the Choroti use
C specially prepared *little pointed sticks*. I have not seen them
276 elsewhere. Like the Mataco they also make use of a filter of plant fibres in their pipes, of which I have seen no mention as regards other Indian tribes. The Chaco Indians occasionally mix their tobacco with a fragrant bark.

The Ashluslay and the Choroti have many different types of pipes, some of which I have depicted in earlier works. It is impossible to say whence these types derive.

[1]) Nordenskiold (3 B).
[2]) Guevara (2).
[3]) Bandelier, Pl. 77.
[4]) v. Tschudi, p. 131. with bibliography
[5]) Ameghino Vol. 1, p. 205.